# THE DAIL & VENING TELEGRAPH-PHILADELPHIA, WEDNESDAY, DECEMBER 30, 1868.

## SPIRIT OF THE PRESS.

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EDITORIAL OPINIONS OF THE LEADING JOURNALS UPON CUERBAT TOPICS-COMPILED EVERY DAY FOR THE EVENING TELEGRAPH.

Choosing United States Senators. From the N. Y. Tribune.

The new Legislatures of Pennsylvania and Indiana will assemble next week, and will proceed, two weeks later, to choose each a United States Senator for six years ensuing in place of the Hon. Charles R. Backalew and Thomas A. Hendricks respectively. A more important duty can hardly devolve on either body, and we trust it may be discharged with a full consciousness of its grave responsibility.

Mesers. Buckalew and Hendricks are among the ablest men of their party-probably the two strongest Democrats in the Senate. They came in on the tide of national disaster that naturally resulted from the abortive, purposeless campaigns of McCiellan and Buell; they go out because the Union cause is completely triumphant, on a platform whereof man's ivalienable rights form the base and emancipation the superincumbent structure. They were beaten when, in defiance of the impressive lesson of 1864, Seymour and Blair were preferred to Chase and Hancock as exponents and standard-bearers of partisan Demooracy in 1868. The defeat was that of their party, for which they were not personally responsible. They were generals of division, sacrificed on the field of battle because "some one had blundered."

The new Legislatures of these States will, we trust, choose in their stead men at least as capable and influential as they are, while belonging politically to a better school. If men should be taken who compare unfavorably with them in every respect but their politics, great harm and wrong will have been done to the Republican cause.

We are constrained to say this because we hear that pretenders are trying to make themselves candidates, whose principal qualifications are impudence and money, mainly the former. We have no favorites, and have not even formed an opinion as to the man whom either State ought to send to the Senate: but we know right well that any man who can think of gaining a seat in the Senate by the help of money, cannot possibly be fit for a trust so exalted and influential. There can be no dispute on this point.

Pennsylvania has vast interests staked on the legislation of the next few years. She cannot be ignorant that powerful interests and influences are silently combining to establish, on the rains of our present tariff, a financial policy which must inevitably extinguish half her furnace fires and silence the clink of the pick in half her already opened mines. She is in peril of baleful legislation even from the XList Congress, already mainly chosen; either in that or its successor—perhaps in both—her mineral industry must battle for existence. She will need therein the very ablest and most influentual representatives: she could well afford this hour to give ten millions of dollars for a Henry Clay or Walter Forward to put into Mr. Buckalew's place. We do not say she has him not; we only insist that she shall now put her best foot forward.

When we first looked down, in 1836, npon the Senate from its gallery, Henry Clay, Daniel Webster, John C. Calhoun, Bilas Wright, John M. Clayton, Thomas H. Benton, Benjamin Watkins Leigh, William C. Preston, John J. Crittenden, Willie P. Mangum, John Davis, Thomas Ewing, James Buchauan, Hugh L. White, Felix Grundy, and Samuel L. Southard were members-and the body was considerably less numerous than it is to-day. The present Senate has many able and justly eminent members, and yet we cannot realize that human progress is forcibly exemplified in a comparison of its roll of membership with that of 1836. Let us trust that, wherever improvement is found practicable, the opporiunity will be fully profited by.

"seceding" from the rest of the State, the | Nachville Banner saying, "Wayward sister, depart in peace," and the Knoxville Whig, over Governor Brownlow's own signature, adding that "East Tennesseeans will all be a unit for separation. We are ready to go empty-handed." A grave proposition has also been started for bisecting Pennsylvania, and a less serious one for separating the city of New York from the State. The West Virginia division has already been consummated; but we believe the project to "leave New England out in the cold" has been abandoned since the last coronation of "Forefathers Day.

However, with bisecting Michigan, and trisecting Texas, and Brownlowing East Teunessee, there is enough serious business in this direction to attract attention, without the comic propositions. What will be the upshot of this new fever is of course dependent on the particular needs of each case.

#### The Proposed European Conference. From the N. Y. Herald.

The Eastern question still continues to form the most important element in our daily cable budget of news from Europe. Our despatches of yesterday morning show that the Porte maintains an attitude of firmness, while Greece is more disposed to adopt a policy of conciliation. From Berlin we learn that the granting of automony to Candia is regarded by some as the only possible method of tem-perarily solving the difficulty. In London, while it is believed that a congress will grow out of the present negotiations, no great or permanent results are expected.

One of the most important items in connection with this department of news is the suggestion that in the event of a congress being held the Government of the United States should be represented. We have no means of knowing whether this suggestion be a mere rumor or a fact. So far as we know, the appouncement has, with a single exception, been unheeded in this country. Th Government has been silent regarding it. Only one journal has alluded to the matter, and the allusion is of a kind which indicates a gross misconception of the altered and rapidly altering relations of nations under the new conditions of the later years of the nineteenth century. According to this journal, we have nothing to do with the affairs of Europe. It is the advice of this journal that if any such proposal be made to our Government, the answer should be that, as the settlement of the Eastern question is no affair of ours, we cannot in any shape interfere. This, we know, is in perfect harmony with the hereditary policy of this country. The policy of the founders of this Republic-a policy which has been religiously followed up until the present time-was America for the Americans, and the rest of the world for itself. It is not for a moment to be doubted that the proposal to which we have alluded, if seriously raised, will be rejected, not, perhaps, by all, but certainly by the majority of the European powers. They are not willing that we should interfere with them, and hitherto we have not interfered. We have not been willing that they should interfere with us, but on more than one occasion they have interfered, and interfered very unnecessarily. Some of us remember the interference of Great Britain in the affairs of South America, and how Canning hoped to rectify the balance of power in the Old World by creating a counterpoise in the New. We have none of us forgotten what was attempted on this continent when our hands were tied by our recent civil war. The offense of Europe was not the less that France failed in Mexico and that English assistance was ineffectual in the South. The fact is that interference, wherever interference promised any advantage, whether on this continent or elsewhere, has been a leading characteristic

would be untrammelled. Sympathy for the Turk is quite unnecessary. Back in Asia, whence he came, he would have a more splendid field for his ambition than he can ever hope to have in Europe. In the interest of the United States, in the interest of all the parties to this quarrel, in the interest of civilization itself, we think it right and proper that, if invited to take part, our Government should send representatives to the proposed Congress.

Pretoria-A New Republic in South Africa. From the Chicago Republican.

In travelling in the south of France last summer, Bayard Taylor discovered in a romantic valley of the Pyrenees the little quasi republic within the limits of the French Empire known as Andorre, to which he gave the name of the New Republic. For a longer period than the length of the reign of Napocou III, the primitive republicans of Audorre have, by sufferance, enjoyed their indepen-dence, and have tendered salt and granted benedictions to any stranger who chanced to find them in their mountain seclusion. A district in Southern Africa has now a better claim to the title of New Republic. Nothing republican is foreign to us; and this new member of the community of States deserves a special notice at our hands, inasmuch as we have a common origin-a revolution against British oppression.

On the southern peninsula of Africa, near the Natal land-the diocese of Colenso-aud the country of the Caffres and the wild Zonloos, it seems that there has been, for nearly thirty years, an established form of government, calling itself a republic, of whose existence there has been but little knowledge. In the early part of this century, among the many Germans who emigrated to the Cape of Good Hope, there was one Pretorius, from Silesia, a province of Prussia. A son of this emigrant, restive under the yoke of British Government at the Cape, removed to Natal, with other emigrants, where, after having overcome the barbarous Caffre hordes, they succeeded in 1838 in establishing a colony. British troops, however, followed them to Natal, and in 1842 the hardy band of rebels were obliged to yield to the superior numbers and discipline of the red coats.

Determined not to remain subjects of Great Britain, these resolute pioneers moved inland to an unknown and dangerous country, where, fighting for the soil inch by inch with the savage natives, they succeeded in establishing, and have to this day maintained, the form of government which they call a republic, and have named it Pretoria. A recent letter from the President of this republic, a son of the sturdy ploneer, published in the Cologne Gacette, gives an interesting account of the foundation, struggles, condition, and prospects of this new African Republic. Leaving Natal in 1842, and battling with the natives who opposed their progress, after much loss of life and substance, the rebellious pioneers succeeded in laying the corner-stone of the republic which they now inhabit. In 1852 Great Britain acknow ledged their government as a free and independent State, and has since lived in harmony with it. The Constitution, says the President, as becomes a young republic, is very simple. The President is elected by popular vote, and holds office for five years. There is a Cabinet consisting of four members. The General of the Army and Secretary of State have seats in the Cabinet by virtue of their office, and the remaining two are filled by conncillors who have no official duties when the Cabinet is not in session. The legislative department of the Government is represented by one body-the Valksrath, or Council of the People, the members of which are annually elected by a majority of the popular vote. The sessions are an-nual. Justice is administered by district judges in the several districts into which the country is divided, who, with several sworn advisers, have jurisdiction of all minor causes. For more important matters, three of these judges sit in banc in their respective districts twice each year. The common language of the people is that of Holland, although in the towns and villages English is much spoken. The climate is described to be healthful, and the soil productive and adapted to agricultural pursuits. The mountains are rich in mineral wealth, and with the aid of skilled labor metallic productions might form an important article of export. Pretoria has diplo matic dignity in the person of a Consul in Lendon, and soon expects to establish a consulate at Berlin. The republic has back notes, but for hard money, of which they possess some, they are dependent upon the coin of the adjacent British colony. Happiness and contentment are described as the normal condition of the people, although they would be more learned if there were more teachers, and less subject to disease if physicians were more numerous, and could add much to their primitive enjoyment if they had musicians, of which there are none. The new republic makes a very fair showing; and if it is not already recognized by its sister republic, the United States, doubtless the authorities at Washington would gladly extend the hand of fellowship to the Dutch-African Pretorians.



### The Proposed Division of Certain States. From the N. Y. Times,

The deadly distemper of State secession seems, curiously enough, to have left, in dying out, a much milder, but yet quite marked "mania" for State division. The proposed dividing up of Texas into two or three States was the first symptom of this supervening condition-for malady we hardly need call it. This was one of the late Mr. Stevens' pet projects; and it is only just to say that it was probably entertained by him more as a political scheme, or as one involving a fundamental governmental doctrine, than from any special regard to geographical necessities, to climatic and agricultural differences, or, in a word, to the alleged commercial and civic needs for the proposed separation. However, though the division of Texas may be accomplished, it will probably be robbed of that very doctrinal ele-ment which Mr. Stevens desired to contribute to it. His plan, it will be remembered, was to effect the severance of Texas into parts by a declaratory act of Congress-indeed, he introduced one into the House, and gave notice of his purpose to push it, as he probably would have done had he lived. Doubtless one object with him was in this way to fix a monumental statute, as it were, upon the records of the Government, showing that Congress had regarded the seconded States as Territories, not only for military, but for legal purposes, and indeed for all purposes, even the most practical. For surely nothing could be more practical than putting land and institutions to such a use; nor, of course, could a Congressional division of Texas be effectual, except on the theory that what was once a

State had become a Territory. But with Mr. Stevens' death died this Texan project, apparently-so far as concerns the special form in which he entertained it. It survived, however, in another proposition, divested of his animus and moral parpose, but yet driving at exactly the same end-perhaps, we might add, just as General Butler's Dutch Gap Canal accomplished nothing for the mili-tary use whereto he desired to put it, and yet as a piece of possible engineering for commercial purposes attracted attention at once, when the war was over. The Texas Reconstruction Convention, which will meet at Austin, is certain to take up this important subject. If the Convention be controlled by the political desires of Congress, or if it be in harmony with the desires of Congress, the legal and constitutional issue raised by Mr. Stavens will, of course, be avoided, whether this harmony secure division or not. The Galveston News, however, assures us that "there can be but little doubt that a division of our State has been predetermined upon."

Turning from Texas, we find other States contemplating peaceable division. The people of the Upper Peninsula of Michigan are, as their petition to the Legislature of that State alleges, "almost unanimous in desire" to separato from the Lower Peninsula, and form "a new Territory or State." They disclaim any "disrepect or disloyalty to our State," and put the proposed change on the ground of "the development of our mineral and agricul-tural resources." They desire, in fine, "Im-mediate action"--which would consist, of course, in Michigan's ceding the Upper Peniasula to Congress for the purpose desired.

of European diplomacy. If we have been more cantious in this matter, that is no sufficient reason why this caution should continue.

All these things, however, aside, why should any species of international policy be eternal and unchangeable ? Why should a policy specially adapted to one age and one set of conditions be the best for another age and an entirely new set of conditions? In the interests of civilization Europe has for some generations enjoyed what we may call a monopoly of the control of both hemispheres. The great powers have been looked to as the protectors of civilization, and the smaller powers have followed in their wake or submitted to their dictation. We are not called upon to say that the European powers have done their work badly. But if another civilized power has sprung into existence, if that power, by the extent of its territory, the numbers and rapid growth of its population, the magnitude and the success of its undertakings, commands the attention and the respect of the nations generally, and induces some of them to sue for its aid and protection, as little as we are called upon to say that in the interests of civilization the co-operation of this power should not be heartily welcomed. The United States is that What other nation on the face of the power. earth is contributing more than ours to the general welfare of mankind? Not only are we giving an impulse to trade and commerce all over the world; we are providing homes and a country for the outcast and the needy of all lands. Our central position, in fact, standing as we do between two great seas and two great continents, marks us out not merely as the great arbitrator, but as the great controller of the fature. The Burlingame mis-sion is a striking illustration of the light in which we begin to be regarded by all the nations of the earth. In many important respects we have a greater interest in all lands and in all peoples than any of the so-called great powers of Europe, and this interest will grow and intensify with the advancing years. So far as we can see, there is no good reason why we should not, and many good reasons why we should take our place at once among the great powers and share with them the duties and responsibilities which belong to

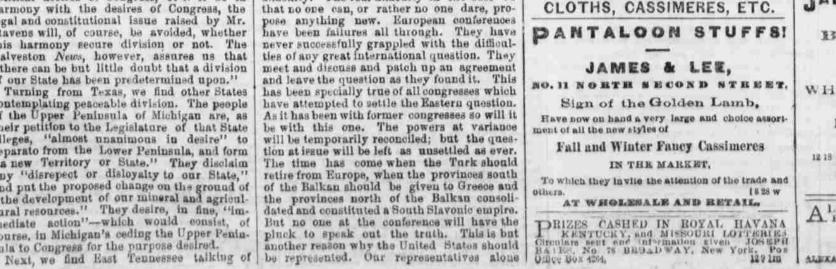
the position. In any conference of the great powers it is competent to us to take part, and our assistance might be invaluable. The peculiarities of the Eastern question might be more successfully dealt with by American intellect thon by the logic of a worn-out Old World diplomacy. There is nothing insoluble in the difficulty. The real difficulty in the case is that no one can, or rather no one dare, propose anything new. European conferences have been failures all through. They have never successfully grappled with the difficul-ties of any great international question. They meet and discuss and patch up an agreement and leave the question as they found it. This has been specially true of all congresses which have attempted to settle the Eastern question. As it has been with former congresses so will it be with this one. The powers at variance will be temporarily reconciled; but the ques tion at issue will be left as unsettled as ever. The time has come when the Tark should retire from Europe, when the provinces south of the Balkan should be given to Greece and the provinces north of the Balkan consolidated and constituted a South Slavonic empire. But no one at the conference will have the

## Democratic Election Expenses.

From "Brick" Pomeroy's N. Y. Democrat. "The World says that Mr. Belmont contri-buted a hundred thousand dollars more towerds the expenses of the Democracy in the late election."-Exchange.

Mr. Belmont did not contribute one thou sand dollars towards the expenses of the Democracy during the late campaign. Oar authority is the word of members of the State and National Democratic Executive Committee. And still more, he did not vote the Democratic ticket at the last general election for President and Governor.

Mr. Belmont is a very fine man for all we know, but he is by birth, education, and in-terest antagonistic to Democracy. His property is in bonds-the party that taxes them burts his interest and just so long as the Democracy of the land make him their cashier and auctioneer, just so long will they be sold for the benefit of the Rothschilds, Belmont, and other bondholders who are running them selves on the same roof. It is the height of folly for a party to labor for equal taxation when its "managers" work for taxing the poor to support the rich. Black parents are no more apt to have white children than rich men are to cut their own throats or work against their own interests.



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